

/117 cont. /

342 Anyone may build himself a house of whatever size he
 761 wishes on his own land in the mountains, as well as on the above-
 783 mentioned community land in the valley, but he must first ask
 [78] the shaman acting for him whether any bones of the Pijao are in
 the ground on the piece of land in mind. As comes out in the
 [773] myths, the Pijao in ancient times were the frightful and militarily
 [628] cleverer enemies of the Paez. Their bones (ec ndyft Pijao) contain
 961 "pest." This pest is a very complex and significant concept
 783 among the Paez (cf. under "Religion" /see p. 191/), and the
 123 pest of the Pijao bones is capable of killing the people living
 above them. How very much our interpreter Victoriano, one of
 the most enlightened Paez, was affected by this fear came out
 when he worked with us in the archeological park in San Andrés.
 For lack of space he had to sleep in the tool room, where, how-
 ever, he felt very comfortable and, with a camp bed and mattress,
 had built himself probably the best bed of his life. One day we
 opened a large prehistoric grave-chamber, which contained more
 than 80 bone-urns with the remains of cremations. Since we
 could not accommodate such a large number of urns in our living
 room, which at the same time served as our museum, we had to
 put a number of them in the tool room. I left the skeletal re-
 mains in several of them in order to save them for a later exami-
 nation. Weeping, Victoriano begged me please not to put in his
 tool room any urns containing bones, because the bones might
 have come from the Pijao, who would surely kill him. Even the
 washed and cleaned urns, he assured us, contained very much
 "pest," so that at the next opportunity he wanted to go to Calderas
 and have himself "purified" by his home shaman. He failed to
 do this, and when after a few days he had a toothache, he traced
 this back to the action of the pest from the burial urns previously
 filled with bones.

342 /118/ The shaman's testing of the ground proposed as the
 761 building site is not done by digging or sampling the ground;
 783 rather, the one who wishes to build goes to the house of the shaman
 756 in the evening with coca, tobacco, and brandy, tells him of his
 787 wish, and then both sit down on the ground next to each other

/118 cont. /

- 342 and begin to chew coca and tobacco and to drink brandy to-
 761 gether. After a while the shaman ascertains through signs in
 789 his arms or legs whether bones of the Pijao are in the ground.
 756 If this is not the case, the building may be started; otherwise
 787 the man must look for another building site. After the building
 is finished, a further ceremony is performed (see under "Religion"
 342 /see p. 205/), and then the same shaman fastens special herbs
 758 to the roof to prevent the ec or gelyómp spirit, hostile to man,
 789 from entering the house from there.

- Houses are built only by men, by fathers of families.
 342 One man alone, however, is not in a position to do this. At
 476 least in the erection of the house posts he is helped by his brothers,
 [462] as well as by other men and friends who have nothing else to
 do anyway on these days and receive chicha and something to
 eat for their assistance. The building material costs nothing,
 342 to be sure, but the builder must furnish a substantial amount of
 273 chicha, for which planning must be begun in plenty of time, two
 476 or three years beforehand, by the planting of sufficient sugar
 cane. This is the task of the married son who is still living in
 [594] his father's house this long. To make the chicha he also still
 [249] needs the sugar mill of his father, upon whose consent and help,
 [461] therefore, much depends. According to the amount of chicha
 that is available, the building of the house thus lasts two to six
 months, depending on whether only five or 15 men participate.

- The most important thing in the construction of the house
 342 is the erection of the wooden frame (Ills. 161 to 164 /see p.272 /).
 335 which always requires several men who bring in the trees, which
 [476] are superficially smoothed with the machete, but not freed of
 bark. The master of the house is able to make the walls by
 [462] himself in an emergency. The covering of the roof, too, like the
 entire house construction, is men's work, but the woman of the
 house may hand up the sugar-cane leaves for the roofing. First
 the vertical corner and side posts of the outer walls (yátšínda) are
 erected, then the outer beams lying horizontally on the side
 posts to support the roof (yátpopānt) are laid on, and, as the third
 step in the work, the horizontal crossbeams (bikas) are fastened at

/143 cont./

- 224 mountain spirit. We met only a single young man of about 18 who goes hunting alone in the mountains once a week. He told us that, in order to become a good hunter, one must first try to [789] kill a bear (éswiy). One must then rub its fat into the right [237] lower-arm, which would give him the same powers as the bear. [262] One is not permitted to eat this fat, however, because it would [128] make him insane. After rubbing in the fat, the young hunter [263] continued, one may not eat salt at any meal for a week. There are no further rules and ceremonies of any kind to be observed. [237] We learned, however, that one can also use bear fat as a healing remedy, and, to be sure, for bone fractures or sprains one [752] must rub the affected part with bear fat, whereupon the injured [757] limb will heal immediately and will become considerably stronger than ever before. For stalking he wears on his head a 292 cap made of the skin of a reddish-blond hairy monkey (móno), [825] which in the first place protects him from the thorns of the bushes, but which is also supposed to facilitate creeping up on [439] game. He sold it to us for two pesos without hesitation, since, [126] as he said, he was perfectly capable of shooting another monkey 224 for himself. He was not afraid of the gělyómp spirit, but the 776 other men were, for gělyómp screams and makes a noise when human beings enter his area in the mountains, so that they become quite confused and go astray. The mountain spirit cannot do anything to several men together, however, since he could make as much noise as he pleased, but they would not let themselves be diverted. Of course, the men, even if there are ever so 224 many of them, must not offend the mountain spirit or provoke 776 him unnecessarily, but rather must avoid everything that gělyómp 515 does not like. /144/ For instance, he hates everything impure 783 and filthy. Hence the men always only go hunting well washed; [296] they even wash the entire body, and the ruana, too. In addition, [824] they rub themselves with the cleansing herbs sū and śáyuts, which they obtain from the shaman, in order to be really altogether • [761] clean in a physical and ritual sense. But if someone has taken part in a burial or has merely seen a funeral procession close by, he has picked up a good deal of "pest" from the dead and must have himself specially purified by the shaman before hunting.

/192 cont./

581 around the hearth fire, and this must be stirred and provided with
462 wood every two hours. This is the task of the wife, who, there-
513 fore, sleeps next to the fire. Throughout practically her whole
life, she is never able to sleep all through the night.

583 If during the trial year the bride does not meet the demands
of the man, if she either cannot cook or is lazy or /193/ does not
like to get up in the morning, he sends her back to her father.

Since no wedding celebration has taken place, sending back the
girl leads to no resentment of any kind. It does, however, if
children have resulted from the trial marriage and the young man
[684] nevertheless changes his mind. In this case, to be sure, nothing
[623] can be changed with regard to his decision -- after all, he has
not yet been officially married -- but, since such an action is
condemned, he is beaten by the cabildo. He may then begin a

583 new trial marriage with another girl. The children of the previ-
848 ous trial marriage (they are designated by the Paez with the
[557] Spanish term hijo natural) are given the name of the mother.

There are not a few such "natural children." The mothers, how-
ever, are not scorned or judged harshly on that account and do
not by any means have poorer prospects for a subsequent marriage.
The children are not adopted in case of a subsequent marriage by the
[761] mother and keep their mother's name. It is believed, however,
[851] that such "natural children" will soon die. They are not baptized,
since the priest baptizes only legitimate children, or else de-
mands such a large sum for the baptism of an illegitimate child
that the unmarried mother cannot raise it.

585 The actual wedding celebration takes place after the period
[178] of the trial marriage. Today the prior marriage service by the
Catholic priest in the church is usually combined with this wedding
celebration. The money for this, as for the expenses of the
wedding celebration, must be raised by the young man himself.

[435] This takes him many months. First of all, besides the cost of
ten pesos for the marriage service, he must have collected the
money for an ox, then prepare chicha in sufficient quantities, for
which sugar cane is milled for about a month, and also provide
for the rest of the food. In general his father or brothers do not

/195 cont./

d) Death

761 According to the belief of the Paez, death occurs chiefly
776 through the action of the evil shamans (nyic) or the evil spirits
165 ec. nis, and gelyomp (see "Religion" /see pp. 191 ff. /). Included
164 here also is the not infrequent cause of death through consumption.
[262] Causes of death of children are chiefly whooping cough, as well
as stomach and intestinal disorders, the latter brought about by a
[762] diet very unsuitable for children. Suicide is completely unknown.
764 The death of a member of the community is passed on from
[763] man to man by members of the family and neighbors. There is
[203] no public mourning or lamentation; upon the death of small
[765] children, people act as though they were glad, since the children
[192] are now "little angels." (Among the colonists, as well as among
the Paez, the Spanish word "angelito" is used.) In former times
it was customary to abandon the house when death occurred and
to leave the deceased and some food in it (Castillo i Orosco,
p. IX).

764 The manner of burial is the same for men, women, and
184 children; there are no social differences. A few customs in other
Paez communities, however, differ from those of the Calderun.
Therefore the burial of the dead in Calderas will be described first.

[77] For burial the deceased is dressed if possible in purchased,
[290] that is, "white" clothing, even if he was the poorest of the poor
and had never worn such clothing. For this reason the relatives
incur considerable expense, which often cannot be paid for a long
time. Burial takes place the day after death. Only the feet of the
deceased are washed. This work, as well as dressing the deceased,
may be done by relatives or even by outsiders; they must, /196/
however, always be men, even in the case of female deceased
persons. The body is taken by two men on a bier made of two
tree trunks to the graveyard next to the church, where two other
men, usually relatives, have already dug the grave. The latter
is trapezoid-shaped, a good shoulder's breadth at head height
and narrower at the foot end. Its length is determined by the size
of the deceased. The direction of the grave is completely arbitrary.

/271 cont. /

753 caused by the spirits eč, tūs, or gělyómp, or general emanations
 783 of impurity, of "pest" (uwē). Such reasons for catching pest, and
 [754] thereby being afflicted with sickness, result largely from neglecting
 [764] the prescribed shamanistic purifications. These must take place
 after a burial or when someone has merely seen a funeral proces-
 753 sion or entered a house in which there is a corpse. The prohibitions
 783 surrounding a woman giving birth or menstruating are just as strict.
 841 If she does not retire to the menstruation hut at the proper time,
 [844] if she cohabits during these days or neglects to take the subsequent
 bath after menstruation and birth, the consequences are equally
 [264] grave. Pest befalls a man if he accepts food from a menstruating
 753 woman. The same consequences befall the one who in housebuild-
 783 ing or during the first harvest does not have the proper ceremonies
 756 performed by the shaman.

342 Most people die as the result of the evil influence of the
 754 nyic, the evil sorcerers. The latter -- it is firmly believed --
 783 are able to kill individual persons as well as to send pest to entire
 ● 761 villages. Their power of evil is regarded as almost unlimited.
 Besides being bewitched by a nyic, there are three other possibili-
 753 ties for a person to become ill or to die. These causes are
 761 gělyómp, tūs, and eč. All three are very complex conceptions
 776 and may be translated roughly as "mountain spirit," "rainbow,"
 and "firefly," respectively, although the Paez conception and the
 [756] translation are not completely identical. The teyu knows the
 cause of the illness immediately from his signs, the rest of the
 people, however, usually only after the death of the sick person.
 And, to be sure, one recognizes the tūs as the cause of illness by the
 fact /272/ that the corpse lies there with a bent limb (arm or leg),
 whereas in the case of eč as the cause of death, blood flows from
 the mouth or nose. It is also possible that both together, tūs and
eč, might bring death to the person, for example, if the person
 lies there bent and blood flows from the mouth or nose.

776 The gělyómp spirit lives chiefly in the mountains, but also in
 the valley, on the banks of brooks or rivers. He likes to lead
 wanderers astray in the mountains by making noise and screaming
 up there; at night one hears his screams -- like those of a human

/272 cont./

776 being -- in the valley, too, near the village. He is a raging foe
[784] of everything dirty. A hunter who has not washed himself and his
ruana before hunting or whose wife is in the menstruation hut at the
time will be punished by him. He has the figure of a human be-
ing, sometimes that of a man, but sometimes, too, that of a
woman or a child. Gělyómp, as well as tūs and ec̣, can give a

776 person pest so that he will die. One can catch pest by himself
783 everywhere and on all occasions, no matter whether he is awake or
753 asleep. The pest of the three spirits mentioned is primarily caused

by stings that not only enter the body, but also the soul. In the
spot where they have entered the body they leave punctures that are
red in color in the case of gělyómp, blue in the case of tūs, and
black in the case of ec̣. The sicknesses caused by gělyómp mani-
fest themselves by general pain caused by the penetration of one
of his hairs. This happens in the following manner: Someone is
walking along a path and suddenly feels a stinging pain in his arm
or some other part of his body, like the prick of a pin. Although
[755] he cannot discover a puncture, the pain remains. The person
therefore goes to the teyu, and he is able to remove the cause of
the pain by rubbing his herbs over the affected spot until he re-

• [761] moves from it a black hair ten to 15 centimeters long. This hair
is from the gělyómp, and if the shaman had not removed it, the one
[759] afflicted by it would have had to die. To a certain extent one can
protect himself from the hairs of the mountain spirit if, when re-
turning home from a walk over the mountains or a night's march,
he passes a firebrand over the feet and body, in order to burn off any
hair of the gělyómp that might have penetrated.

776 Tūs, the "rainbow," lives on the banks of watercourses and
753 especially at springs. There are many tūs, and, to be sure, wher-
ever there is water. There are tūs as large as a snake, colored red
and yellow, and others only the size of a finger. People recognize
sicknesses /273/ of the tūs by the fact that the afflicted one is
covered all over with pimples and has to scratch himself constantly.
[821] If it rains when the sun is shining, tūs goes from the bank of the river,
where he lives, into the sky and from there back again to earth in
a semicircle. The rainbow is especially dangerous for children.

/273 cont. /

776 If it rains when the sun is shining, they may not leave the house,
753 for otherwise they become afflicted with head maladies. These
12/ are not headaches, but wounds such as would be inflicted by a
[788] machete. The teyu, however, have remedies to make the rain-
[789] bow disappear, so that children may go outside again.

Eĉ, the third of the aforementioned causes of sickness and
776 death, is the most unpleasant and the most dangerous, since eĉ
[753] kills the most people. Eĉ lives in the earth; no man has seen
[761] him, apart from a few shamans. They need not enter into the
[787] earth, however, to see him; rather, eĉ himself comes if a teyu
[825] calls him. He looks like a human being. Eĉ is also the name
for fireflies, which are regarded as the messengers that he sends
out to bring "pest" to human beings. People therefore kill fire-
776 flies if they are able to catch them. Eĉ is not angry, however,
782 if the people kill his messengers, if only he always gets enough
offerings. For this reason people give eĉ a dram-glass full of
brandy from every bottle, that is, they pour this amount on the
ground; likewise eĉ gets his share of every animal killed (chicken,
756 pig, cow, etc.). People ask their teyu which parts of the animal
776 eĉ demands and which ones they should offer him. If people
782 killed and ate an animal without offering eĉ any of it, he would
[761] in return kill a child of this family. If the father then comes to
the teyu and asks why his child died, he -- who, of course, knows
that the man slaughtered a pig without giving eĉ anything -- tells
him that this is the punishment of eĉ. That very rarely happens,
however; rather, the man gives the shaman the parts of the ani-
mal desired by eĉ, for instance, the liver, entrails, or meat, and
he gives them to eĉ, bringing them at night to the place desired
[787] by him. Moreover, as a precaution people give eĉ herbs and
brandy as the shaman advises, in accordance with the signs which
he has received from eĉ.

774 If the penetration of pest into the body of a person is the
776 cause of an illness that may result in death, this unfortunate out-
753 come is all the more probable if one of the three spirits or a nyic
has stolen a human soul. I was given differing /274/ statements
about such a case: First of all, there are two words for soul, ũns

/274 cont. /

554 herbs into their drinking-water canal. Now he had given it up,
754 however. To us he seemed to be merely an idle talker; he did
756 not give the impression of actually having received signs or of
being serious about the matter, but rather it seemed as though
he had merely learned a little by watching his father /275/ and
was doing it mechanically without any inner concern. Francisco,
too, had a father and grandfather as shaman predecessors. He was
likewise rather ignorant, but apparently meant well. He did his
best to help people.

756 Martin Chukue was completely absorbed by his calling and
753 duty, and he was well informed, serious, and dignified in his
● 761 shamanistic work. When the capitan of Calderas died, he was
the shaman authorized to act for his residence, and he also con-
ducted the purification ceremony after his burial. Martin ex-
plained the cause of death of the capitan as follows: The capitan
had to die because the tūs had stolen the taff soul of the capitan.
The capitan died with his left leg drawn up. He was very thin when
he died, because he had not eaten anything for a long time, for
[755] his taff soul had been stolen five years ago. At that time the sick
man began feeling pain, and during the entire time he, Martin,
had fought with the tūs, offered him medicines, and tried to ap-
pease him.

775 When the ūns soul (ūns also means "heart"!) leaves the body,
[774] then the person is ultimately dead. And, to be sure, ūns leaves
[827] the body by way of the upper arms, lower arms, finger tips.
Shortly before it leaves the person, one may still perceive it very
faintly as a pulse beat, and when the pulse beat ceases altogether,
the ūns has left the body and immediately goes to heaven. No
one could tell me exactly in what form it goes to heaven. In
heaven, however, it again has the normal human appearance.
[755] When children are ill, wool threads are put around their wrists
[774] and ankles and drawn tightly in order to prevent the escape of the
ūns, or at least to make it more difficult.

/303 cont. /

* 539 went past the tree. The head walked on and on, and since it could not find the man anywhere, it turned back and found the scent of the man at the foot of the tree. It looked up and saw the man sitting in the highest tip of the tree. The head was unable to climb the tree, however, and in order to reach the man, it went back a little and leaped into the air. But it still could not quite reach the man and fell down to the ground again. Then it tried again and again, more than /304/ a hundred times, but it could never reach the man because he was sitting too high. Then the head became frightfully tired from its many vain attempts, and since it had to walk far to reach home, it had to leave the man whom it wanted to kill and return so as not to meet human beings by day. Then the Palma man climbed down from his tree and was able to reach home safely.

14. The White Dog

* 539 The father of Victoriano went to Belalcázar one Saturday, 781 where he became drunk. At two o'clock at night he set out on the 794 way back. On the way he saw a white dog that was very thin. The father thought that it was a regular dog, but it was not a dog at all, but rather the taff soul of a human being. Suddenly this dog turned into a human being, very thin and lean in shape, whose heart hung out of the body so that it dangled in front of the chest. Then the father gave the lean dog a blow with his traveler's staff, but it did not hit the dog. The father became frightened at this and took to his heels. But the lean man kept running after him, so that the father, out of fear, became short of breath and almost died. Then the father pretended to be very stupid and simply sat down beside the road, laid his hands on his knees, and went to sleep. The lean man then left him. When the father awoke in the morning, he looked for the place where he had first met the lean dog, but he found only a bush with white blossoms. The father was convinced, however, that he had met a taff.

484 (No Paez customarily goes long distances at night, because the 794 taff souls are abroad at night. And if a taff meets a human being, 761 it immediately calls together a great many other taff ("about 50") and they bring about the death of the person, because the one concerned kills himself out of fright.)

the drum-dance, in which the women sang to the accompani- 535
ment of a drum; *vilo-ko*, or *fils-ko*, the stick-dance, etc.

In addition to the shells and reeds, the Indians also accom- 535
panied their dances with a kind of drum (*kimb*), consisting of a 534
long wooden trough hung by its extremities; and the *tsoots*, or
rattle, a calabash containing small stones or hard canna seeds
and provided with a handle.

According to Castillo the Paez had also other deities, corre- 776
sponding somewhat to the lares of the ancient Latins, 778
carved images of which were often found in the houses. The
diyi, who were at one time priests, sorcerers, and medicine-men, [79]
lived in retirement and were considered as the keepers of the
doctrines of a traditional civilizer of the nation, called *Guckiani*.
So strong was their influence in Castillo's time that he com-
plains rather bitterly about it, and proceeds to explain how the
true God, wishing to free the Paez from such a devilish guide,
simply employed a subterfuge to drown him in the Paez river,
together with two of his apostles!

The belief in a future existence is indicated, as *Uricoechea* 825
relates, by the fact that the Indians never molested white dogs, 775
in order that they might not be bitten by them at the doors of
the house beyond the grave.

There were birds and other signs of good or of evil omen. 787
A woman would never step over a leather rope stretched on the
ground, but would lift it up and pass beneath. During the
construction of bridges, two men constantly beat the waters to
frighten away evil spirits. The death of a person was often 761
attributed to witchcraft, and he whose face bore some likeness 754
to that of the dead person was often regarded as the culprit,
provided the patient in his ravings had not given the name of
the supposed sorcerer. The soul of a cow whose fat had been 825
used for illumination during religious ceremonies was believed 774
to go directly to heaven: this last belief, however, must be of
post-conquest origin.

Among themselves the Indians are jovial and contented. 157
The approach of the men whom we often met on the trails 533
around Huila was usually first detected by the sound of the 283

000 /288 cont. /

756 medicine men. To cure the patient, he divines which of the
755 supernatural beings caused the illness, proceeds to placate him,
[787] and then prescribes medicines to the patient. If the placion
is not successful, the patient literally sinks into despair. The
indispensable articles for all curing are coca, tobacco, and
[462] aguardiente. The medicine men are persons well along in years
[754] and belonging to the masculine sex. They cannot cure the
effects of sorcery, although they can protect themselves against
it.

754 c) Fifty per cent of all illnesses, the informants state,
[753] are caused by sorcery, and by the same token 50 per cent of
[761] the deaths, since sorcery is incurable. The sorcerers conceal
their activities, and it seems that all adults are potential sor-
754 cerers. The institution of sorcery is a true escape valve for the
154 strong aggressive impulses of the natives and to some extent
plays the role of a social regulator. Through it are channeled
the jealousy, resentment, and vengefulness of the natives.
The victims of sorcery are the most skillful and hard-working
individuals, those who have a good house, good crops, and a
growing number of domestic animals. Harvests and plantings
[683] generally are the object of sorcery. Sorcerers who are publicly
unmasked are exposed to the anger of the community and even
to exile, a measure taken not so much on account of their be-
[685] ing sorcerers as of their being thieves. All sorcerers are thieves.
Sorcery appears with considerable frequency in the symbolism
of dreams.

583 Marriage. --Marriage is monogamous and patrilocal. Both
[595] the chroniclers and Dr. Gregorio Hernández de Alba speak of
[591] the custom of the year of probation to acquaint the man with
[177] the skill, energy, and fecundity of his future wife. A thriving
[797] institution in times past, it is now in sharp decline owing to the
action of mission work. Obviously, the purpose of this insti-
tution is to find out whether the woman is hard-working, faith-
ful, not a thief, and to understand her ways in order to establish
a lasting union. Nowadays the Paez, before being married

/183 cont./

342 and blows them into the air; with a small staff called "tama"
 756 he cleaves the air in such a way that sometimes he appears to
 787 be frightening away the spirits, sometimes threatening them,
 [823] and sometimes clubbing them. If the signs (reflex movements)
 are felt on the right side, the site is favorable; the opposite
 denotes that the site is uninhabitable. The spirits are angry,
 [761] or there are Pijao bones and gold at the site. If the site has
 not been selected by the medicine man, even if the house is a
 handsome one it cannot be occupied, for its occupants would
 die, beginning with the children, continuing with the mother,
 342 and ending with the father. The medicine man himself pro-
 756 hibits people from living in a house built without the fulfill-
 ment of this requisite. The medicine man's dictum is rewarded
 with a bottle of aguardiente, an egg (1) of coca, tobacco, a

[804]

1. A measure of weight equivalent
to the weight of a hen's egg.

calabash of chicha, and usually a meal with chicken. /184/

[789]

This is called "care" /cuido/. When the house is finished,
 the medicine man will place special remedies at the ridgepole
 to prevent the ghosts or echi from descending by way of it or
 from being angered.

342
476.

Then come the mingas /communal work-parties/. A house
 is built with the help of others. The people are invited, in-
 cluding the medicine man himself, who goes to work as a
 laborer. The work is organized. First, they go to the wood-
 land for wood; under the influence of the guarapo, voices re-
 sound, loud laughter is heard, and the deep sound of the
 "cacho" /horn/ rumbles in the montañas, multiplied by its
 342 echoes. Soon they report to the man in charge. They level
 335 out the ground that will serve as the house floor; they dig holes
 476 in which to sink the posts approximately two meters apart,
 driven in solidly, and tied at the top to cross-pieces with lianas
 (guák); the posts outline the shape of the house, and they will

/236 cont. /

755 Since sicknesses have a magical origin, the treatments are
783 also magical in character. "The cleansing" is indispensable
in every treatment, with its attendant remedies and movements.

165 Symptoms of sicknesses. Among the sicknesses clearly
164 identifiable by the natives are smallpox and whooping cough,
given their characteristic symptoms. Some of the informants,
not many, to be sure, state that their children died of such
sicknesses.

165 On the whole, child mortality, which is rather high, is
761 said to be caused by, in order of frequency and in generic terms,
776 pest, Echi, and sorcery. The cases of death by the ghost
and rainbow are few.

753 The symptomatologies given for the sicknesses are very
776 vague and even confused with one another. The Echi, ghost,
and rainbow sting, not really the body, but the soul, leaving
hairs in the body that cause fevers and sharp pains at the spot
where they are found. These hairs, when placed in the palm
of the hand, move as if they were alive. They differ in color:
the red ones are from Kallumb, the reddish blue ones from
[755] the rainbow, and the black ones from Echi. The hairs are re-
[783] moved by rubbing with remedies prior to the cleansing.

/237/ It is said that the sting of pallumb /sic/ causes
heaviness, lack of appetite, pains in the head and body, fever,
and even insanity.

753 When the arco /literally "bow"/, called kitús, is referred
776 to, it is nothing other than the rainbow, which comes out at
821 any hour of the day, accompanied by a rainy drizzle, the
"rainbow meow," which causes scabies (chande) in children
[755] when it falls upon them; it is not harmful for adults. The curers,
[789] and they alone, from their ranchos blow chewed remedies
toward it, tobacco, chandur, flushamuanda, and yacuma
[755] negua, in order to make it disappear quickly. Other people
chew remedies, when they have them at hand, and rub them
on their bodies. There is a general idea that the rainbow causes

/260 cont. /

754 If a person kills himself in a fall, it is believed that the
[783] sorcerer sent him ptans.

• [761] h) To cast a spell on the plantings, they use tobacco, matches, and other remedies with which they are burned and destroyed.

As will be noted, in their enchantments the sorcerers do not use any parts or objects belonging to the victim, such as hair, nails, clothing, etc. Most of the remedies that they use are herbs or objects that have properties noxious to man or can cause him harm.

The sorcerer believes that putting them in contact with the soul or simply with the body produces the desired effects.

754 /261/ Paez sorcery is a clear case of imitative or
789 homeopathic magic, according to Frazer's classic definition. It is "desire dominating the world with instruments born of desire" (10).

[105] 10. Ponce, Aníbal. Estudios de Psicología /Psychological Studies/, El Ateneo, Buenos Aires, 1947, p. 363.

754 The Paez fear illness and death and live in the fear that
182 the whites may take from them their land, their ranchos, their plantings, that is to say, their very sources of survival.

While the sorcerers attack the customs of a capitalist economy and transculturation openly, the curers protect the community against sickness and against the attacks of individuals or groups, by means of their divinations and their vigorous and constant conjurations. In this sense sorcerer and curer are identical. They protect the community.

683 Punishment of the sorcerers. The sorcerer is feared by
754 the entire population; identified throughout by it, he suffers general enmity; torrents of hatred arise against him, ending most of the time in violent punishment: confinement in the stocks, whippings, dunkings, and even exile.

/263 cont. /

182 The people perceive only the effects. Only the expectant
754 attitude announces to us its presence. The latent fears tell us
of its vigor. The members of the cabildo, the capitán, the
té eu, the working men, the parturient women have a strong
fear of sorcery.

• [761] When the pest spreads through the community, when the
elders die and their experience and advice are lost, thoughts
turn inevitably to the power of the sorcerers. Most deaths are
brought about by sorcerers, the informants say.

754 Sorcery is a powerful barrier against the introduction
182 of the customs of a capitalist economy and also against the
177 intrusion of the whites in their parcialidades. It is strange
that sorcery should exist in the less acculturated parcialidades,
while in San Andrés it has practically disappeared. It is said
to have been vigorous until 1926, the year when the Municipal
Council of Inzá established in the parcialidad a settlement
area in which the whites settled. With this measure living
together was inescapable and they chose to accept them.
Nevertheless, during the drinking bouts of the old people, the
tremendous resentment that has become natural to them still
crops out.

182 Furthermore, it makes its influences felt in the distribution
754 of land. Each family has lands from which it lives. With the
423 increase in population the problem of their unequal distribution
[554] has become prominent. Those who have the most land are
[152] the targets of envy and sorcery; they are more prone to magical
attacks aimed at taking away their land. Intrasocial tensions
754 appear to be brought into equilibrium by means of this insti-
182 tution. The fear of reprisals checks aggression. Revenge is
too prejudicial, since it can be manifested not only against
[184] individuals, but also against animals and plantings. It is
[177] perfectly true to say that while in Calderas acts of bloodshed
[675] are rare and suicide is unknown, in San Andres, a parcialidad
[762] which is largely acculturated, the homicides, murders, and
cases of arson are hair-raising.